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Introduction

Despite the well-publicised problems of over-tourism in many destinations and increasing concern about the impacts of climate change, tourism growth continues, largely justified by the economic growth it delivers. Concerns about the effects of unlimited economic growth have led to rethinking the role of economics in creating more sustainable societies and environments including introducing measures of wellbeing to gauge progress. As the broadcaster and natural historian Sir David Attenborough recently said: "if you believe you can have infinite growth in a finite situation you are either an economist or a madman" (Attenborough, 2019, n. pag.). Furthermore, a report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2014) which has highlighted the unprecedented increase in anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions driven, in large part, by the pursuit of economic growth.

The tension between aiming solely for economic growth and incorporating other environmental and social goals is played out in numerous texts such as academic papers, news items, reports, editorials, documentaries and so on. Each of these genres of text is important for both reflecting and shaping our view of reality, through the (re)production of discourse which helps establish hegemonies, or ways of seeing the world, favouring some views and perspectives over others and granting power and influence to actors communicating that particular form of 'knowledge' or 'truth' (see Pukkha, 2008).

Among these texts, policy documents convey current government values and objectives and project them into the future. National tourism policy documents fulfil this function for a country's tourism and help align public and private investments and direct

resources in tourism to agreed national goals. Where there may be competing objectives, such as growth and sustainability, they set out a framework for deciding priorities and indicate which incentives are likely to win governmental support and influence how tourism develops for many years. While most national tourism policies appear to endorse sustainable tourism, few include actions to mitigate climate change (Gössling 2013, UNWTO 2019) or limit the growth of tourism. Meanwhile, "emerging discourses around re-valuing tourism as a means of achieving a range of social, political, environmental objectives (and not simply as a tool for economic development) has received little attention in tourism policy research" (Dredge and Jamal 2015, p.295).

Our research critically analyses how the discourses of growth and sustainability are deployed in a corpus of national tourism policy documents from seven European countries. Europe was the chosen focus for this paper as "the world's most visited region" which has experienced above average "sustained growth" for the last eight years (UNWTO, 2018a). A combination of qualitative and quantitative discourse analysis methods was used to examine how these documents simultaneously support 'growth' and 'sustainability' and how they are positioned in wider discursive and ideological contexts. In particular, we were interested in finding out whether 'growth' and 'sustainability' were presented as mutually exclusive or mutually compatible concepts.

While the lack of detail about sustainability in such documents has been reported before (see, for example, UNWTO and UNEP, 2019), this detailed analysis provides further evidence of how the embedded discourse and metaphors reproduce, rather than challenge, the meme that economic growth is good and enhances wellbeing for all. The role of discourse in maintaining the status quo and 'business as usual' is often overlooked and, as such, our research demonstrates the importance and power of discourse as an ideological tool. Four themes for discussion emerge from the evidence: the dominance of economic discourse over

sustainability; the perpetuation of the 'growth is good' metaphor; the appropriation of the term 'sustainability' to support 'growth' and the tensions between local economic development and local and global environmental stewardship. The paper closes with thoughts on alternatives to growth and business as usual and suggests ideas for further research.

Literature review

Tourism planning and policy

As a starting point, it is essential to address some of the ambiguities which surround the deceptively simple terms of tourism 'planning' and 'policy'. Inskeep (1991, p.31), for example, refers to the 'confusion' surrounding the use of these terms in this field of enquiry and seeks to clarify the terms with reference to the broad process of tourism planning, a process which, according to him, includes 'policy', 'planning' and 'strategy'. He further suggests that the use of terminology varies from one reference to another. Dredge and Jamal (2015, p.287) also point to the uncertainty of these terms, stating that "planning and policy are dialectical concepts: their meanings are socially constructed and depend upon the context in which they are applied; in some instances they remain "fuzzy concepts" that are loosely referred to, while other scholars attempt to nail down several different meanings for each of these terms".

Some of this confusion of terminology may arise from the inter-relationship and similarity between policy and planning as found by Hall (2008, p.8), who states that planning and policy are 'intimately related'; Dredge and Jenkins (2007, p.10), who refer to a 'strong link' between the two; and Veal (2010, p. 12), who refers to a considerable overlap between policy and planning. A recent report from UNWTO and UNEP (2019, p. 27) which aimed to gain insights into the sustainable consumption and production practices as outlined in

national tourism policies also encountered such challenges of definition. The authors found that countries tended to have "one main long-term planning document for tourism development at the national level, which combines the vision for tourism development with operational recommendations". Finding it "impossible" to identify distinct characteristics between a variety of terminology (strategy, plan, policy), they adopt the term 'policy' to refer to "all types of long-term planning documents formulated by national tourism authorities, to guide the development of the sector" (2019, p. 27). Thus, while acknowledging the overlap between policy and planning, we adopt the same approach as UNWTO and UNEP and refer to the long-term planning documents of national tourism authorities as policy.

In understanding public policy, numerous authors refer to the seminal definition from Thomas Dye (1992, p.2) who defines policy as "whatever governments choose to do or not do" (see for example, Dodds & Butler, 2009; Dredge & Jenkins, 2007; Edgell & Swanson, 2013; Hall, 2008; Page, 2015). Such simplicity embraces all government action and inaction. As noted by Howlett and Cashore (2014, p.18), "a 'negative' or 'non-decision', or a government's decision to do nothing and simply maintain the current course of action or status quo (Crenson, 1971; Smith, 1979), is just as much a policy decision as a choice to alter it". Deliberate *inaction* therefore, is given the same significance as deliberate action.

With regards to the purpose of tourism policy, Inskeep (1991, p. 31) explains policy as "the approach applied to guide and determine decision-making". Veal (2010, p. 12) concurs that policy is also intended to guide the actions "concerned with the on-going principles and broad goals that guide the actions of a government body". Several authors agree that the key factors informing such guidance are ideas, values, interests and ideologies (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007; Gunn, 2002; Hall, 2008).

It is often posited that one of the goals of policy documents should be to prevent over-development and balance long-term sustainability with the short-term interests of the private

sector (Page 2015; Ruhanen, 2010). Page (2015, p. 358) specifically argues that without public sector intervention, "the environment and resource base for tourism in destination areas could be irreversibly damaged and the potentially beneficial effects of tourism may easily be lost". However, the focus of most strategic documents is on volume, value, profits and marketing (Aall et al., 2015; Hall, 2011; Moyle et al., 2014; Ruhanen, 2010) with research finding that economic factors have priority over economic concerns (Dodds and Butler, 2009, Moscardo and Murphy, 2014). The assumption that growth is natural and desirable (Prideaux, 2009, p. 52) underpins much tourism policy, portraying it as a tool to achieve wider benefits for society, including regional redistribution of wealth, generation of employment and economic regeneration (Hall, 2000). This ignores the potential environmental and social problems risked by such growth, which also reduces the competitiveness of the destination as demonstrated by the dissatisfaction of both residents and tourists as a consequence of over-tourism when 'too much' growth is evident. Indeed, direct actions aimed specifically at addressing these issues are often lacking in tourism policy; an example of governments choosing *not* to do something as defined by Dye (1992). Dredge and Jamal (2015, p.287) suggest that this results from a shift towards neoliberalism, globalisation and public management which has prompted "a downsizing and outsourcing of government functions and a move away from direct government involvement in economic and social affairs. The role of government has been recast as a facilitator and enabler of economic activity rather than an adjudicator of what might be appropriate or desirable change (Stevenson et al., 2008)".

Political discourse

However one understands the objectives and processes of politics, whether as a struggle for power and/or as a form of social organisation and cooperation, it is also clear that they are

enacted through communication (Chilton, 2004). Since the language used in politics cannot be fully understandable without taking the context(s) surrounding it into account (Wodak, 2009, p.7), the 'language' of politics is therefore better viewed as 'discourse'. Van Dijk (2009, p.67) has defined discourse as "a multidimensional social phenomenon" which is at once a linguistic and semiotic object, a social practice, a form of social action (serving a social purpose or function), a form of social interaction (between producers and receivers of discourse), a communicative event and a cultural product. In critical discourse analysis, 'context' is generally understood as something akin to "the totality of conditions in which discourse is being produced, circulated and interpreted" (Blommaert, 2005, p.251). It can therefore be investigated at different levels, occurring at both the macro- and micro-levels of discourse, including the historical, social and political background, the situational and interactional context, intertextual references and relationships, and the immediate linguistic, text-internal co-text (Reisigl & Wodak, 2015).

We understand the genre of 'political discourse' as being contextually defined, that is, the discourse of practices whose goals or functions are primarily political and which are geared towards political forms of social action. For Fairclough and Fairclough (2012, p.34), in the ideal sense (democratic) politics is all about arriving peacefully and cooperatively at decisions for action on matters of common concern as well as managing problematic situations of real or potential disagreement and conflict. In this respect, political discourse is where the case is made for certain choices and/or decisions about action to be taken. These choices and decisions are usually taken in the light of certain (implicit or explicit) goals and values, and often in contexts where uncertainty and potential disagreement are central. Thus, tourism planning and policy documents serve not only as a means of communicating a destination's vision, mission, goals, strategies and tactics, along with (assumed) stakeholder interests, but are also important tools for (re)producing broader political ideologies and

maintaining the status quo. Furthermore, and since political power involves the control of information, discursive strategies of *mis*representation are also fundamental to political discourse (Chilton, 2004). This might involve deliberate omissions, as well as various techniques such as deploying euphemisms or implicit meanings for "conceptually blurring, or diverting attention from, troublesome referents" (Chilton, 2004, p. 46).

Whilst 'discourse' describes the general, contextual use of language as a social practice, we can also identify individual 'discourses'. The most salient defining feature of 'a discourse' is its macro-topic (Reisigl & Wodak, 2015). However, there may be a number of simultaneously existing discourses on any particular topic, including or excluding elements favouring different interests. These can often be identified with the distinct positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors and their underlying ideologies. Thus, besides the neoliberal discourse on 'development', which reifies the concept of growth, there are other, 'counter' development discourses which question the wisdom and ethics of pursuing continuous growth strategies, (see, for example, Raworth's (2017) 'Doughnut Economics'). It is also worth remembering that meaning-making depends not only on what is made explicit in a text, but on what is implicit, assumed or taken for granted (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, it is pertinent to identify and explain 'assumptions' made in a text, which link a particular discourse to broader knowledge/ideological framework(s).

'Growth' and neoliberal political discourse(s) in tourism

To examine the discourse surrounding the concept of 'growth' in tourism involves considering its role in neoliberal ideology. Emerging from an immense, on-going political project, neoliberal discourse is not merely one discourse among many, but rather a discourse so "strong" that it is difficult to combat, because "it has on its side all the forces of a world of relations of forces, a world that it contributes to making what it is" (Bourdieu, 1998, n.pag,).

The main narrative of neoliberal discourse is one of 'progress' (Fairclough, 2000). This narrative rests on key discursive resources such as the 'globalised world', underpinned by the 'logic' of the 'global economy', which in turn rests on concepts such as 'market forces', 'free trade', 'competition' and 'development'. According to this narrative, 'development' is both enabled and measured by opportunities for 'growth' (Schilcher, 2007). In neo-liberal capitalist economies, according to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), growth has become an unconditional imperative, often justified and rationalised by the 'trickle down' metaphor implying that economic growth creates prosperity for all (i.e. the 'common good' narrative). This rationalisation helps to reinforce the 'common-sensical' assumption that 'growth is good'. Once growth becomes a goal that is taken for granted, giving reasons for pursuing it becomes less necessary and less frequent. At this point, then, we can say that the metaphor of economic growth has become a discursive resource of a hegemonic ideology, in the sense that an ideology is a "shared framework of social beliefs that organise and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 8; see also Stuart Hall, 1996).

It is worth further considering how the metaphor of economic growth has become such a ubiquitous element of 'development' discourses. Metaphors are commonly used to make complex concepts, such as economics, more manageable and comprehensible (White, 2003). Conceptual metaphor (as first outlined by Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) works by 'mapping' well-understood source domains of experience onto more abstract and schematic ones. Growth in relation to the economy is one such metaphor. Thus, in large parts of the world, 'growth' has become "totally institutionalised as an indispensable economic performance indicator" (White, 2003, p. 133) since it was first incorporated into political discourse in the post-war 1940s and 50s, along with such concepts as the GDP (Arndt, 1987).

The ‘growth’ metaphor belongs to the class of ‘ontological metaphors’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) which allow us to understand abstract and complex ideas and processes by imagining them as we experience discrete and, often living, entities. The growth of living things can be easily verified by activities such as measuring and weighing. Likewise, ‘economic growth’ can be simplistically represented in numerical terms. Yet growth is not inherently a ‘good’ or ‘desirable’ concept, even in its physical manifestations (‘undesirable’ forms of growth in living organisms, for example, are associated with tumours or obesity). Nor is it a state of infinite potential (many living things stop growing at some point). Further metaphorical work therefore helps positive discursive reinforcement. Spatial orientation metaphors, particularly the UP-DOWN metaphors, are powerful linguistic tools in this respect (Kövecses, 2002). Upward orientation generally denotes positive evaluations, whereas downward orientation denotes something negative. Typically, in discourses reporting tourism growth, the ‘performance’ of destinations abounds with these UP-DOWN metaphors. Countries recording the most arrivals are said to be ‘*at the top’* of world rankings, with others seen as ‘*moving up*’ and ‘*climbing’* towards the top (i.e. performing well). Negative evaluations of performance are expressed as visitor numbers having *‘gone down’,* or *‘fallen’*. ‘Growth’ is also naturalised as ‘good’ through discursive strategies which associate growth with robust health, having physical strength, or being able to ‘recover’, ‘rebound’, or ‘fight back’ from any interruption in growth (e.g. ‘stagnation’ or ‘decline’) which is generally seen as a ‘crisis’ for a tourism destination. Metaphorical mappings of movement (forwards and/or upwards) also help to strengthen the growth metaphor and equate growth with a desirable outcome. This is clearly illustrated in the following extract from a UNWTO (2018b) press release (our emphases):

> International tourist arrivals *grew by a remarkable 7%* in 2017 to reach a total of 1,322 million (…) This *strong momentum* is expected to continue in 2018 (…) and represents the *strongest results* in seven years. (…) Europe recorded *extraordinary results* for such a large and rather

> mature region (…) 2017 was characterised by *sustained growth* in many destinations and *a firm recovery* in those that *suffered decreases* in previous years. Results were partly shaped by the global economic *upswing* and the *robust outbound demand* from many traditional and *emerging* source markets (…) after a few years of *declines*. (…) International tourist arrivals in **Europe** reached 671 million in 2017, *a remarkable 8% increase* following *a comparatively weaker* 2016. *Growth* was *driven* by the *extraordinary results* in Southern and Mediterranean Europe (+13%).

The point is that the metaphorical mappings in texts such as the extract above are so common-place as to be hardly noticeable. They have therefore done their work of naturalising and reinforcing the 'growth is good' discourse that anchors the concept of tourism 'development' firmly in neoliberal ideology and maintaining the status quo.

Discourses of sustainability: sustainable development and sustainable tourism

The strongest challenger over the past few decades to the hegemony of the neoliberal 'growth' metaphor as an indicator for 'development', including tourism development, is surely 'sustainability'. As a metaphor itself (at least in the sense of grammatical metaphor, since it is a nominalisation of a verb), the word 'sustainability' at its most basic semantic level simply means the ability to 'sustain', or maintain something indefinitely at a steady rate. This therefore conflicts with the idea of infinite, or exponential, growth. Yet the term has become increasingly contested. On one hand it is now understood by many as being rooted in the discourse of ecology (i.e. avoiding negative environmental impacts and depletion of resources and maintaining an ecological balance), whilst, on the other, it is used (especially in its adjectival form) as synonymous with 'sustained' – as in 'sustained growth', for example, which denotes uninterrupted growth at a continuous rate. Thus, the concept of 'sustainability' has two possible framings; one oriented towards finiteness and the other towards infinity.

Since the endorsement of sustainable development as an overarching policy goal at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 (Lafferty & Meadowcroft, 2000), it has been presented as "an action-guiding principle for decision-makers all over the world" (Hugé, Waas, Dahdouh-Guebas, Koedam, & Block, 2013, p. 187), with an undisputed relevance to policy-making at

international, national and local levels (Christen & Schmidt, 2011; Waas, Hugé, Verbruggen, & Wright, 2011). In this way, the term 'sustainability' (often used interchangeably with 'sustainable development') has gained high currency in political discourse.

However, many scholars have noted the vagueness of the term and its ambiguous, contested and contradictory meanings (e.g. Connelly, 2007; Kates, Parris, & Leiserowitz, 2005; Sharpley, 2000) and partly attribute this to the failure to operationalise it or at least to achieve clear results in terms of tourism development (Brendehaug, Aall, & Dodds, 2017). For many, the concept was merely underpinning continued neoliberal capitalist interests and 'business as usual' approaches to development, and a means of "watering down" the deep-ecological thinking of the 1970s (Du Pisani, 2006, p.93). Conservative critics argued that sustainability was a form of 'stasis', and that the resulting 'stagnation' of 'development' would mean that the needs of future (growing) populations could not be met (ibid.). It has also been argued that the very lack of precise consensus as to its meaning is exactly what has enabled the concept to retain its attractiveness and acceptance. Besides its intuitive, common-sensical appeal (Hugé, Waas, Eggermontc, & Verbrugges, 2011), it has 'constructive ambiguity' (Robinson, 2004) since it serves to marshal the diverging interests of different stakeholders around the same broad objective (Hugé et al., 2013).

The ambiguous meanings spill into the application of sustainability within tourism (Hardy, Beaton & Pearson, 2002; Liu, 2003). Although it has long been argued that sustainability in tourism should have a clear link with the sustainable development paradigm (Butler, 1999; Sharpley, 2000), the idea of 'sustainable tourism' is at best a 'fuzzy' and, at worst, a misleading concept. Over 20 years ago, Wall (1997) differentiated between "sustainable tourism", which, he argued, rapidly morphs into "sustaining tourism" (the tourist-centric discourse), and "sustainable development within tourism", where the priority is sustainable development rather than simply sustaining tourism. 'Sustaining tourism' involves

disregarding limits to growth (Butler, 1999) while appropriating the language of sustainability (Wheeller, 1993). Nevertheless, the concept of 'sustainable tourism' continues to gain traction in both scientific research (Qian, Shen & Law, 2018) and planning and policy discourse (Aall et al., 2015).

Methodology and Data

The corpus

A corpus is a body of naturally occurring spoken or written language assembled for linguistic analysis (Weisser, 2016). Originally employed to study naturally occurring patterns in language, specialist corpora are increasingly being used for discourse analysis and, in the case of Critical Discourse Analysis, to identify how language constructs representations of the world and their relationship with ideology and power (Baker, 2010, p.3). The size and sources will vary according to the purpose and resources of the research, but a corpus should include an adequate range of the types of documents of the genre it represents (Biber, 1993).

For this research, a number of European national tourism policy documents were selected to construct the corpus for analysis. The documents had to be publicly available in electronic form and in English or Portuguese, the languages of the researchers. To embrace the broadest range of documents, the corpus included a wide geographical spread, from different types of destination, authoring organisation and styles of document, with all the countries experiencing relatively high levels of recent growth in tourism (UNWTO, 2018a figures for year 2015-2016, see table 1). Although they employ different terminology in their titles (e.g. 'Development Strategy', 'Road Map', 'Policy Statement', Masterplan' etc., see Table 1), essentially all these documents represent governments' intentions or what they "choose to do" (Dye, 1992) in terms of tourism. We therefore consider them to be 'policy'

documents, in the broad sense and as already explained above. For ease of reading, the documents are referred to by country name rather than title throughout the analysis.

Table 1: Corpus of documents analysed

Country	Title of document (in English)	Authorship	Period covered	Tourism growth rate 2015-16 (%)	Nº of words
Croatia	Proposal for Tourism Development Strategy for the Republic of Croatia until 2020	The Government of the Republic of Croatia	2013-2020	8.9	36 593
Iceland	Road Map for Tourism in Iceland	Ministry of Industries and Innovation	2015-2020	39.0	8 795
Ireland	Tourism Policy Statement: People, Place, Policy: Growing Tourism to 2025	Department of Transport, Tourism & Sport	2015-2025	6.0	27 561
Malta	Draft Proposal for National Tourism Policy 2015-2020: Ensuring sustainable growth	Ministry for Tourism	2015-2020	10.2	19 332
Portugal	Tourism Strategy 2027: Leading the tourism of the future	Ministry of Economy/ Turismo de Portugal	2017- 2027	13.0	17 614
Romania	National Tourism Development Masterplan 2007-2026	UNWTO (with various collaborators)	2007-2026	10.8	49 949
UK	Government Tourism Policy	Department of Culture, Media and Sport	2011- (not stated)	4.0	20 983

Corpus linguistics analysis

This research investigated the use of the terms ‘growth’ and ‘sustainability/sustainable’ within national tourism policy documents and, in particular, how these apparently incompatible concepts are reconciled. As a first stage of investigation, AntConc software (Anthony, 2018) was used to conduct a Corpus Linguistics (CL) computer-aided text

analysis, charting the frequency, dispersion, clusters, keyness, and collocates of selected words. Being a primarily quantitative method, CL provides an overview of linguistic patterns and trends in a corpus of texts offering insights into the construction of the discourses associated with the selected terms.

The initial step was to compute the word frequencies, generating lists of words ranked by frequency and plots of how the most frequent words are dispersed within each text. Frequency lists of word clusters were also generated. The next step tested for 'keyness' of lexical items by comparing the studied corpus against a more general one (Baker, 2006), in this case the BE06 Corpus, a one million-word corpus of general written British English texts (the Portuguese document was excluded from this analysis). This test generates a keyword list of the studied corpus using the log likelihood test, which compares the frequency of a word in two corpora (here our corpus of tourism national policy and the BE06 Corpus) and establishes whether the differences are statistically significant (see McEnery& Hardie, 2011).

Further tests identified clusters (groups of sequential words) and collocation, which is the above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span of text, in this case five words on either side. Such collocates (co-occurring words) help to detect the most significant relationships between words (Baker, 2006, p118). Unlike clusters, collocates reveal non-sequential word associations. Finally, CL techniques were used to explore absences (Partington, 2014); that is, terms expected to feature, but noticeable by their infrequent use or even absence from the corpus.

Critical discourse analysis

While Corpus Linguistics gives useful insights into a corpus of texts, it is primarily descriptive and can result in decontextualized language patterns, both in terms of the micro-level co-text and the macro-level socio-political contexts in which the texts are embedded. To

address these limitations, the CL analysis was followed by a more detailed, manual exploration of the corpus, taking a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) informed approach.

CDA is a qualitatively-driven, interpretivist approach to the study of language as a social practice (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, *inter alia*) which considers the context in which language is used to be crucial to the analysis. Although there are many differing strands of CDA, making it a rather eclectic methodology, proponents generally agree on certain principles. Firstly, it is assumed that discourse plays a major constitutive role in socio-political practices and processes, as well as being constituted, or shaped, by them (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). In this way, discursive practices can (re)produce, reinforce, shape, contest or transform objects of knowledge and other aspects of the social world. Secondly, CDA is 'politically driven' (Fairclough, Wodak & Mulderig, 2011, p. 357) in that it seeks to critically explore and unpack relationships between discourse and other elements of social processes, and to provide a critique, not only of the discourse itself, but also of associated practices in the social world. By taking a social constructionist approach, CDA therefore begins with the analysis of a text to ultimately provide interpretations and explanations of some aspect of the social world and the power relations and ideologies underlying it (Fairclough, 2010). Finally, as a problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach, it is committed to studying the discourse(s) surrounding urgent contemporary social issues (Mautner, 2009).

Critical discourse analysis is a constructionist methodology and adopts a non-positivist epistemology (Bryman, 2008). The detailed and in-depth analysis provided by CDA offers a rich and comprehensive interpretation of the data. While the quantitative approach of the CL could allow for a much larger sample, the interpretivist orientation of this research and meticulous and extensive depth of analysis in CDA (which is not computer-aided) gives justification for a small sample size.

Complementary methods

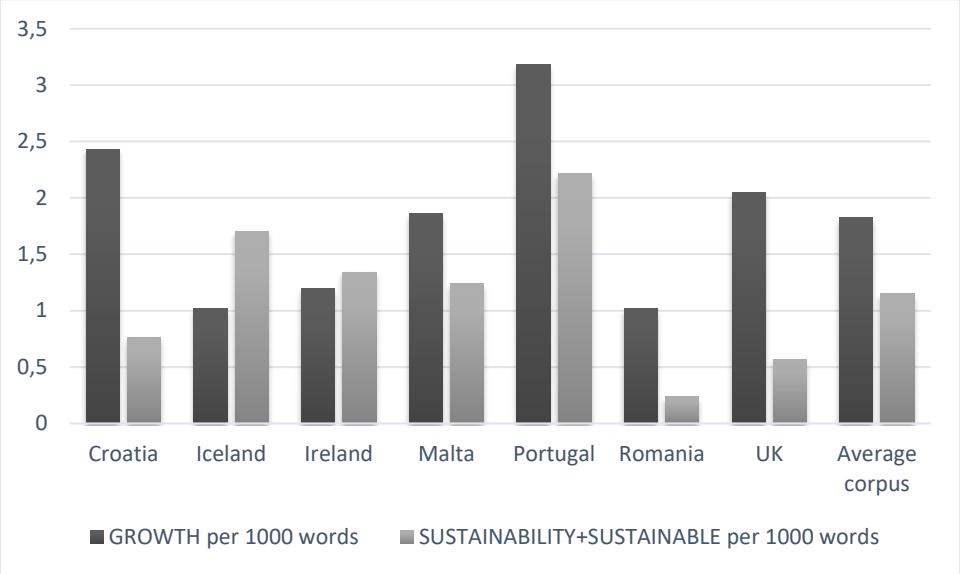
In sum, this combination of methods provides a useful 'methodological synergy' (Baker et al., 2008) for investigating discourse in the social sciences (cf. Mautner, 2016; Taylor & Marchi, 2018) embracing both computed data and researcher interpretation (Jaworska, 2017), and counters accusations of bias often directed at entirely qualitative, critical approaches to discourse. CL analyses can reveal and describe linguistic patterns in a corpus of texts. However, CDA allows the analyst to reach outside the studied text to gain a wider explanation of the patterns and to critique the political and social framing of the issues (Reisigl & Wodak, 2015).

Findings

Computer-aided analysis

Unsurprisingly, the most frequent lexical word (discounting 'grammatical' words such as prepositions or articles) in our corpus is TOURISM, followed, in order of frequency, by TOURIST, DEVELOPMENT, ACCOMMODATION, NATIONAL and INDUSTRY. The word GROWTH appears in 18th place, with a total word count of 317. SUSTAINABILITY is much less frequent, appearing just 42 times throughout the corpus. However, as the adjective SUSTAINABLE was more frequent than SUSTAINABILITY, we then calculated the relative frequencies for the combination SUSTAINABILITY + SUSTAINABLE compared to GROWTH. To allow comparison across documents of different lengths, word frequencies were calculated per 1000 words. Figure 1 shows the relative frequencies of the terms by document. The relative frequency of GROWTH compared to SUSTAINABILITY + SUSTAINABLE is clearly much higher in each case except for those of Iceland and Ireland, perhaps implying that the discourse of sustainability is more evident than that of growth in these texts (further explored below).

Figure 1: Word frequencies by country. GROWTH v. SUSTAINABILITY + SUSTAINABLE



As looking at individual words reveals little about the discourse surrounding them, the most frequent 2-word clusters for GROWTH and SUSTAINABLE were generated to show the immediate (text internal) co-texts of these terms (Table 2). The GROWTH clusters, unsurprisingly, appear to be grounded in economic discourse, while the most frequent SUSTAINABLE clusters seem at first glance to be associated with a wider range of meanings.

Table 2: Most frequent 2-word clusters with GROWTH and SUSTAINABLE

annual growth	sustainable development
economic growth	sustainable tourism
growth rate	sustainable growth
tourism growth	sustainable approach
growth potential	sustainable economic
sustainable growth	sustainable consumption
further growth	sustainable destination
future growth	sustainable future
average growth	sustainable management
growth markets	sustainable manner
highest growth	
percentage growth	
real growth	
regional growth	
revenue growth	

Finally, analyses of keyness and collocations were performed. The keyword test is used to determine which frequently occurring words are not there by chance. High scores indicate strong keyness. GROWTH and SUSTAINABLE both qualify as keywords in the corpus as a whole, although SUSTAINABILITY does not. In the individual documents, however, GROWTH is a keyword for all the documents except Iceland but SUSTAINABLE is only key for Iceland and Ireland, which explains its much lower keyness score overall.

Table 3 gives the strongest 20 collocates of GROWTH (of the 81 detected) and the total 16 detected for SUSTAINABLE in the corpus. Like the 2-word cluster findings, the collocates for GROWTH again point to an economic discourse in which indicators and rates of growth are salient. Once again, there seems to be more ambiguity about the discourse around SUSTAINABLE; although collocates such as 'environmentally' and 'responsible' may suggest a discourse underpinned by an ecological ideology, others (e.g. competitive; economic; growth; industry) are more suggestive of the neoliberal ideals of economic development.

Table 3: Collocates of GROWTH and SUSTAINABLE

GROWTH	SUSTAINABLE
slower	manner
rapid	environmentally
prospects	successful
BRIC	continued
barriers	promote
continuing	competitive
real	approach
facilitate	responsible
highest	framework
annual	development
average	economic
encouraging	growth
continued	management
rates	tourism
daily	destination

essential passenger percentage revenue economic	industry

The following sections detail some of the findings of the CDA analysis.

Further exploration of the 'growth' discourse

The documents provide many instances of the 'GROWTH is GOOD' narrative. In the Foreword to the UK Policy document, the (former) Prime Minister, David Cameron, notes:

> *I am confident that we can grow this already world class industry and make the coming years the best ever for tourism in Britain.*

Since anything which might obstruct this 'growing' of tourism is undesirable, he also promises "a whole new approach to tourism, removing barriers to growth" so that the British tourism industry can "thrive". In fact, this is the document in which the discourse of 'growth' is most visible and foregrounded. The discourse is replete with metaphors related to good health (a "thriving tourism industry", creating the right environment for the tourism sector to "flourish" and making the tourism industry "more resilient".

As the subtitle for the Irish Tourism Policy document is "Growing Tourism to 2025", we can safely say that future growth in tourism is also one of the major aims of this policy. This foregrounds the concept of (future) growth in tourism as a "driver" for the "health" of the nation. In this case, there are repeated mentions of a "return to growth"' as the way to put Ireland back on a path towards socio-economic stability and success, often by employing the "recovery" (from ill-health) metaphor from the "ill-health" of the economic crisis, felt so keenly by Ireland. This document reports a shift of growth focus "from overseas visitor numbers to overseas visitor revenue".

This shift towards “value growth” is echoed by the Malta document. As a small island state, with an already well-established summer tourism sector, the “unique challenges” it faces with continuing tourism growth are acknowledged, and the concept of “controlled growth” is introduced, achievable through “targeting of appropriate markets with the aim of achieving higher rates of economic returns and returns on investment” which will serve to achieve “improved competitive positioning”. Growth, it is argued, should be “well planned” and “sustainable”, yet a closer reading of the document makes it clear that “managing growth” does not involve setting limits to growth, but rather encouraging “off-peak” or “low season” growth. In other words, it seeks to redress the seasonality imbalances felt by most southern European countries (including Portugal) whose tourism industry was primarily developed around mass tourism in sun and beach resort destinations.

The Portuguese document is also concerned with improving its tourism competitiveness, aiming at becoming “one of the most competitive and sustainable destinations” in the world. Although growth is not overtly foregrounded as one of the overarching aims in this document, growth targets (in overnight stays, revenue and year-round tourism) are nonetheless stated as part of the “sustainability goals”, discursively backgrounding future growth as part of a ‘sustainable’ strategy. Like most of the documents in the corpus, the first part of the Portuguese document presents in some detail the ‘results’ of tourism ‘performance’ over the last 10 years, with a particular focus on the boost to the national economy delivered by high levels of tourism growth, measured by a number of indicators. The conclusion is that the results “show that tourism has the capacity to be a sustainable activity” – in other words, tourism itself can be sustained by its own growth momentum.

The overall aim of the Croatian document is to question which type of tourism Croatia wishes and needs to develop to improve its “competitive capacities”, based on “the principles

of responsible and sustainable development". Although the concept of growth is not flagged in the aims, the document points to the "higher growth rates than those achieved in its competitive environment". It seems therefore that the goal of "improving competitiveness" in tourism is at least partially dependent on achieving even higher growth rates. Overall, there is implicit evidence that growth is the main aim – there is an audit of which sectors have achieved most growth, those that have the most "visible growth potential" (or those which show "growth barriers"), as well as a section on market opportunities to stimulate "growth in competitiveness". Although the vision for Croatian tourism development is discursively grounded in a "value system" which includes "sustainable principles" such as "long term environmental protection", the discourse of growth as a desirable objective is evident throughout: 'strong', 'high' and 'fast' growth are clearly positive evaluations.

Economic growth is more implicit than explicit in the stated aims of the Romanian document, which purports to be "an umbrella policy (…) to optimise the sector's contribution to the national economy." Many of the occurrences of 'growth' in this document refer to past growth. Growth rates are compared with those of Romania's neighbours and competitors, all of which are found to have higher growth rates than Romania. Thus, the "impediments to tourism growth" are noted and discussed, as well as "key issues to be addressed to facilitate the future growth of tourism".

The document in which the discourse of growth is least salient is Iceland's. The only mention is in the introductory section which stresses past growth rather than present or future growth, noting that tourism has been "the principal driving force behind economic growth in Iceland since 2011" with "a growth rate that is five times greater than in the rest of the world", but few direct mentions of planned or projected future growth. There is a promise to set "measurable growth targets" for each region of the country, but these are not stated. There is also a commitment to "master the rapid growth in the sector". The use of the verb 'master'

suggests concern about current uncontrolled growth rates and a need for some limits. Yet, there is a clear expectation that international tourism growth should continue; in terms of air access, for example, "there shall be an evaluation of how best to increase flight gateways into the country" and a concern to "ensure that alternative international airports are in good order", which translates as a strategy to open up regional air access to avoid over-congestion of air traffic at the capital's airport, indicating an overall increase in air traffic.

The ambiguity of sustainability discourse(s)

All the national policies, except the UK's, refer to sustainability in their overall aims, from which we might expect a clear indication of exactly how this term is being employed. A discursive advantage of using a nominalisation (a noun created from a verb) is that the subject(s) and/or object(s) of the action need not be stated, so actors can be excluded, obscuring who sustains what and portraying 'sustainability' as an autonomous process. The texts were examined for evidence of clear definitions and/or explanations of what is actually meant by sustainability, including intertextuality with other policies, guidelines or programmes, at national, international or supranational levels.

There are no explicit definitions, and very few references to wider sustainable development principles and policies. Only two countries make specific reference to the 'triple bottom line' of sustainability: in the Foreword to the Irish document, the stated aim is to have "a vibrant, attractive tourism sector that (…) is *economically, socially and environmentally sustainable*". The Portuguese long-term vision is "to affirm tourism as a hub for economic, social and environmental development throughout the country".

Although the Croatian document refers to using "the sustainable development value system" and "creating conditions for sustainable development compliant to the general and specific EU goals", and the Irish policy aims to ensure that "development in the tourism

sector reflect[s] the highest standards of environmental and economic sustainability" there are no explicit explanations of what these values, goals and standards might be.

The only specific references to text-external sources were found in the Iceland and Ireland documents. Iceland states its aim to use its national resources "in the spirit of the UNWTO's definition of sustainable tourism and the recommendations of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)", whilst Ireland devotes a sub-section to "Sustainable development of tourism" which refers to the UN 10YFP (United Nations Sustainable Tourism Programme of the Ten Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production Patterns), citing its emphasis on the idea that "tourism can make a significant contribution to the three dimensions of sustainable development". At the national level, it also refers to the Irish government's general framework for sustainable development, "Our Sustainable Future", which sets out a vision to "transition Ireland to a resource-efficient, low-carbon and climate resilient future", and to the Government Green Paper on Energy Policy (2014). In both cases, these countries are clearly aware of the importance of their natural environment as a major tourist attraction, and are therefore keen to establish 'protective' measures to ensure the future continuity of the environment as the basis of the tourism industry.

In the case of Croatia, although there is no real elaboration in this document on what is meant by 'sustainable development', there are some references to environmental issues and the need to preserve the natural environment although the argument is framed against the need to maintain "competitiveness" and "market positioning". Both Croatia and Malta acknowledge that concerns about environmentally-based sustainable development practices in tourism are in response to tourist expectations.

Although authored by the UNWTO, the Romanian document contains no explicit reference to what 'sustainable development' means, despite the fact that the document

mentions “the successful and sustainable development of tourism” on several occasions. The Portuguese document is the only one to set out specific goals for sustainability, including environmental sustainability, albeit these goals are specified only in terms of efficiency measures and waste management actions.

The ‘social’ aspect of sustainable development is largely absent from these documents. Where it is mentioned, it is generally in terms of a future aspiration. The Portuguese document, for example, sets out three goals for social sustainability: reducing the seasonality effect by increasing tourism throughout the year; increasing the number of educational/professional qualifications in tourism and “ensuring that tourism has a positive impact among more than 90% of the resident population”. However, it is unclear how these goals are to be operationalised (with the latter one remaining particularly vague).

Many references to the ‘social’ seem to partner it with ‘economic’ aspects. Iceland, for example, stresses that as a “sustainable sector” for the future, tourism should “yield stable foreign exchange earnings and enhance prosperity and quality of life”, implying that ‘quality of life’ is dependent on revenue and prosperity. Since Malta’s economy is so heavily dependent on tourism, the consequences of ‘failure’ in tourism are flagged, not only in economic terms, but also as having a huge impact on social structures, although this seems revert to the bottom line of economic opportunity: “There is no room for mistakes here, as tourism is a sector that affects the livelihood of every Maltese citizen, and we either gain all together or lose all together”.

There is, in fact, very little about people in the documents overall, except in their roles as tourists/visitors/consumers/customers or, conversely, as hosts. Local people appear to be mainly cast in roles for supporting and staffing the tourism industry. “Great service and a friendly welcome are key to generating loyalty from tourists” is the caption below a large photograph of a smiling, uniformed doorman in the UK document, whilst the Romania

document acknowledges that "tourism is a people industry; people providing services to people". Furthermore, places (countries, cities, regions) are often used as metonyms for local populations, thus conflating people with tourist destinations.

The economic aspect of sustainable development dominates. The corpus is replete with economic references and there is an implicit premise of sustaining tourism as a primarily economic activity, particularly by association with 'competitiveness'. Croatia stresses "the need to implement pre-conditions for the development of Croatian tourism that is sustainable and competitive in the long run", whilst Malta aims to establish a "sustainable framework" to guide future development of tourism, since there is an acknowledgment that 'sustainability' is a growing concern of travellers and a consequent need "to adapt to such trends to retain competitiveness." For Portugal, the overall aim is to position Portugal as one of "the most competitive and sustainable destinations in the world".

In short, although the terms 'sustainability' and 'sustainable' are clearly being implicitly associated with something inherently positive and beneficial, they remain vague and imprecise, since the immediate co-text offers no concise explanation of what is meant by the term, nor of who or what will be benefitted, and how this will happen. Moreover, there are few intertextual references to other sources which might explain the intended meaning of the terms more plainly.

Constructing discursive compatibility between 'growth' and 'sustainability'

Since the findings so far suggest that the discourses of growth and sustainability are far from being mutually exclusive in these documents, we explored the discursive strategies deployed to advocate compatibility between the two concepts.

The most obvious way of constructing discursive compatibility is by simply combining the two terms, to produce the term 'sustainable growth'. This apparent

'oxymoron' (Daly, 1990) is amply used in the corpus. The sub-title of the Maltese document is "Ensuring Sustainable Growth", and introduces the concept of "controlled growth", yet a careful reading makes it apparent that neither of these terms are associated with the setting of any meaningful limits to growth. Rather, growth is to be promoted in under-represented areas, be they geographic (the island of Gozo), seasonal (the winter), or in certain markets and types of accommodation. Similarly, the concept of 'sustainable growth' in the Irish policy seems to be geared towards attracting more tourists. The document explains that the role of the National Tourism Development Agency is "to promote and facilitate sustainable growth in Irish tourism by supporting competitive tourism enterprises to develop, sell and deliver authentic Irish tourism experiences to new and repeat visitors." Finally, the UK document states that individual firms are being encouraged to adopt a recently launched strategy, "Skills for Sustainable Growth". However, it is not made clear what the 'sustainable' part of the growth strategy is – instead we are told that this initiative is aimed at the "developing of leadership and management skills for small and medium enterprises as a key to allowing these companies to grow" so that "individual firms are properly equipped to grasp every opportunity that's available and deliver higher rates of growth successfully."

There is little evidence in this corpus of texts that the modifier 'sustainable' is being used in any way other than to vindicate the notion of continued growth; in other words, 'sustainable' seems merely to be a synonym of 'sustained'.

Discussion

The dominance of economic discourse

Given that tourism is clearly an economic activity, it is not surprising that there is a dominance of economic discourse in the documents. Despite suggestions from the literature that these documents should aim to prevent the social and environmental problems that arise

from over-development (Page, 2015), there is little evidence of this. Far from championing environmental protection with ecological discourses, these documents employ language to support the 'business as usual' approach, pessimistically predicted by Daly (1990) and Du Pisani (2006). As observed by Bramwell (2006), when 'sustainable development' is closely examined, it becomes clear that economic/business logic is the main driving force. Governments have become primarily facilitators and enablers of economic activity, rather than adjudicators of desirable change (Dredge and Jamal, 2015).

Even when the need to safeguard the quality of the social and ecological environment of a destination is emphasized in tourism policies, it is often the (unwritten) aim to sustain the future of the tourism industry which, after all, depends heavily on these very environments as its resources (Saarinen, 2015). Thus, social and environmental objectives are portrayed as instrumental to economic goals, rather than end goals themselves. Implicit in the documents is a questionable belief that the market and economic activity will provide societal wellbeing. This accepts, supports and reproduces neoliberal capitalist ideology, long accused of 'sustaining' unsustainable practices. Croatia and Malta acknowledge that concerns about environmentally based sustainable development practices in tourism are in response to tourist expectations. i.e. market forces. However, it should be clear that "[m]arkets do not lead to socially and ecologically desirable outcomes on their own, but require active political guidance" (Järvensivu et al. 2018. p. 4).

Perpetuating the growth is good metaphor

In the documents, growth is equated with success both within the country and relative to other countries. Its desirability is indicated by use of 'up/down' and 'health' metaphors and intentions to remove 'barriers' to growth, presumably including those designed to promote social and ecological wellbeing. The reasoning for supporting growth is often absent, but relates to the presupposition that more tourism means a stronger economy, and a stronger

economy will lead to greater levels of ‘development’, ideologically equated with greater levels of prosperity and opportunities for the citizens of a country. This concern for the current and future common good is hard to refute, but the focus on economic prosperity apparent in the corpus can be questioned if it is at the expense of well-being and quality of life. In promoting tourism and economic growth, the means have become the goal.

The ‘growth is good’ discourse evidenced is strongly connected to ideological support for neoliberal capitalism. In fact, the argument that ‘growth is necessary for greater prosperity’ often remains implicit, illustrating its widespread acceptance (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Harvey (1996) suggested that the rationalisation that growth is necessary for general wellbeing, whether explicit or implicit, obscures its real function of sustaining and reproducing the particular version of social reality based on capitalism, and can therefore be described as ideological in nature. As Redclift (1987, p 56) also reasoned, the political focus on ‘growth’ has served “to obscure the fact that resource depletion and unsustainable development are a direct consequence of growth itself”.

The key point here is that the metaphorical mappings in the texts above are so common-place as to be hardly noticeable. By conjoining ‘growth’, which typically is conceptualised as natural and good, with ‘economics’, we perpetuate the discourse that economic growth is inherently good too. This discourse is so well accepted that few ever question it. That, we suggest, contributes in part to these documents and wider associated policies remaining ‘frozen’ in favour of economic dominance over other considerations. This relates to the concept of 'hegemonic’ discourse, the power of which lies not in coercion, but in complicity. By naturalising and reinforcing the ‘growth is good’ discourse that anchors the concept of tourism ‘development’ firmly in neoliberal capitalist ideology, the authors of the documents we examined are helping to maintain the status quo.

Hijacking the term 'sustainable'

The discourse of sustainability abounds in tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010) yet, as evidenced in this corpus, the term still lacks meaningful definition (Sharpley, 2000). We would argue the ambiguity, so evident in these documents, has been exploited to serve the aims and purposes of neoliberal ideology. As Harvey (1996) observed, what is 'sustained' is often a specific socio-political order, and yet the terms and language of sustainability serve as "positive reinforcement of policies and politics by giving them the aura of being environmentally sensitive" (p. 148).

Used to signify the idea of working for the greater good, the adjective 'sustainable' can be attached to any area of economic activity and go largely unexamined. It is also "attached uncritically to existing practices and policies that might benefit from 're-branding'" (Redclift, 2005). Introducing the modifier 'sustainable' (e.g. 'sustainable growth') serves the dual purpose of reiterating the supposed underlying values of the grounds for the argument, and suggesting a more equitable and less risky means to achieving the overall goal. The inherent ambivalence of this buzzword as something 'good' to strive for also helps to create consensus as it 'bridges' potentially conflicting discourses. This is illustrated in our corpus with the proliferation of clusters and collocates that connect 'sustainable' with economics, growth, promotion, competition, and so on. Close scrutiny of the collocates does not support a sense of caring control or stewardship. Words such as 'competitive' are not necessarily positive in connotation; for example, synonyms for 'competitive' are 'aggressive', 'cut-throat' and 'antagonistic', which clearly do not pair harmoniously with 'sustainable'.

Not only has the tourism industry failed to define sustainability, it is "not even close to sustainability" (Buckley, 2012, p 528) and has steadfastly ignored the implications of limits to growth that the application of sustainability principles should really entail (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010). Frequently the term 'sustainable' is used to mean the infinite ability to

'carry on' the activities surrounding the production and consumption of tourism, the antithesis of the ideological concept of 'sustainability', which represents values that go beyond tourism. This has little association with appropriate growth, de-growth, sensible use of resources and considerations of social wellbeing as portrayed, for example, by Hall's (2016) paradigm of sustainable consumption.

The absence of definitions of sustainability is one of the noteworthy omissions from these documents. None of the documents discusses or contemplates the relative merits of economic, environmental and social sustainability, nor acknowledges that they may even be conflicting goals. According to Saarinen (2015), the specifications of what is being prioritised and sustained should be clearly stated, along with how eventual limits to growth are conceptualised which would allow greater transparency and accountability in the discourse of sustainability.

Tensions between local and global

Saarinen (2014) identifies a shortcoming of tourism policy and practice as its "strong focus on the local scale" (p.9), which overlooks wider impacts and only considers local reasons for limiting growth such as local resources, activities and communities. These national tourism policy documents (by necessity) focus on tourism within their own borders, but ignore their contribution to global (or even European) sustainable development. Although addressing immediate local environmental impacts is important (Moscardo & Murphy, 2014), making local tourism production and consumption more sustainable will be counter-productive if reliant on visitors from distant markets, because of the travel involved. Although tourism clearly operates on a global scale economy, as a network of destinations interlinked by routes and transit regions, the focus of sustainability continues to be at destination level, ignoring the largest contribution of tourism to climate change: travel, which should include "travelling to the destination as well as at the destination itself" (Peeters,

2017, p. 35) (Gössling, Hall & Weaver, 2009). In the face of serious global challenges like climate change, this localised, inward-looking, tourism-centric view of sustainability is highly problematic.

Focusing on tourism as an economic activity at a destination rather than a potential way of improving local quality of life and part of a global industry needing to reduce its climate-changing emissions severely reduces the options considered for increasing its sustainability. Without active interventions to cut emissions, the tourism sector is likely to render the Paris agreement climate targets unachievable (Peeters, Higham, Cohen, Eijgelaar, & Gössling, 2018). This scenario therefore calls for an urgent shift in the underlying paradigm of tourism policy and planning with a clear need to re-locate the concept of sustainability in tourism on the global level. The focus on the local, albeit at national level and multiple references in the corpus to the term 'competition' automatically align one destination against another, rather than working collectively at a global level.

Alternatives to growth and business as usual

The tensions between an assumption that growing numbers of tourists will enhance wellbeing and wanting to protect natural and social capitals from rapid growth and overdevelopment are evident throughout the corpus. They are 'resolved' by re-distribution of visitors spatially and temporally (as suggested by McKinsey & Company 2017), by expanding airport capacity in underused areas rather than controlling or limiting absolute growth. These 'quick fixes' displace the problem without addressing the causes and long-term consequences of overtourism. This failure to challenge the excesses of commercial 'business as usual' development undermines Page's (2015) argument that, through tourism planning, the public sectors act as custodians of common resources and clearly signals the need for alternative approaches.

The desirability of continuing growth in tourism has long been questioned (e.g. Fletcher, 2011; Hall, 2009; Wall, 1997; Wheeller, 1993). This reflects the recognition that both the benefits and costs of economic growth are very unevenly spread around the world, which has inspired counter-discourses of 'steady-state' economies and economic 'degrowth' or 'post-growth' (Hall 2009; Hamilton 2004). Such economic systems would require re-orientation of economic goals away from growth towards fairer distribution of resources and enhanced wellbeing, while staying within the planet's ability to renew and adapt (cf. Leach, Raworth & Rockström, 2013).

From a discursive point of view, however, the labels 'degrowth' and 'post-growth' simply express the negation of 'growth', which, as we have seen, has such a strong positive conceptual mapping that attempts to refute or reverse it are unlikely to gain rapid, widespread or mainstream acceptance. Lakoff (2010) discusses the concept of 'hypocognition', or the absence of frames for the ideas we need –with alternative economics being a case in point. Alternative metaphors such as Raworth's 'doughnut economics' (2017), with concentric rings denoting a safe space to provide wellbeing for all humanity while avoiding planetary degradation, are absent from the documents.

Conclusions

Accepting the arguments of the literature that language transmits power and steers action, it appears imperative to examine the language used in the documents which guide national tourism development. This relatively unused discursive analysis reveals the linguistic devices used to maintain an ideological status quo which, while paying lip-service to concepts of environmental and societal wellbeing, serves in large part to perpetuate the dominant neoliberal ideology of growth of all costs. The findings will perhaps not surprise many familiar with the field. However, the contribution of this analysis is to highlight the linguistic strategies used to appear sustainable, while endorsing unsustainable actions.

Tourism is unlikely to become sustainable while such linguistic strategies continue to be used in policy documents.

Our findings challenge assumptions that the public sector safeguards and protects people and environments from the excesses of the open market through (tourism) policy. As well as reproducing discourses championing economic expansion, the documents subsume environmental and social goals as instrumental to economic objectives. There is no questioning of the effectiveness of growth in enhancing quality of life. The findings further suggest that the use of the term 'sustainability' has become so appropriated by neoliberal discourse, so diluted and ambiguous that, at best, it is useless and, at worst, it is actually detrimental in terms of positive objectives and outcomes for environment and society. The terms 'growth' and 'sustainability' are 'discursively constructed' as being compatible. This is an is important point because if people come to believe through repeated exposure to such discursive constructions as 'sustainable growth' that the two are compatible, they do not question the fact that these two concepts *should*, in fact, be incompatible.

The paper suggests many directions for further research: three possible avenues are suggested here. First, there is always going to be a lack of generalisability and problems of representativeness resulting from qualitatively-driven methodologies, but this should not detract from the fact that the findings uncover what seem to be patterns worthy of further exploration and investigation with a broader sample. Second, we suggest a longitudinal study which analyses how the change of language in official strategy texts reflects a change of orientation and ideology. Our third suggestion is a study of tourism policy documents which explores the dominant focus of key performance indicators and measures of success with regards to alternatives other than economic.

Dwyer (2018) calls for a radical change of the accepted tourism 'business as usual' paradigm. He also calls for a better understanding of the various 'dynamics' which have led

to our current sustainability crisis and to consider what mechanism can facilitate new modes of tourism. Our analysis of the linguistic context of policy documents offers a modest response to this call. First, there is an obvious need for new terms to replace the appropriated and diluted term, 'sustainability'. This is needed for those challenging the hegemonic discourse of economic growth and wanting to shape society (such as politicians, journalists, academics, school children, activists, and so on) to be more compassionate and truly sustainable. Second, while tourism policy remains national and competitive, there seems little hope that it will address either the dual issues of climate change or overtourism. A radical shift is needed if tourism is to actually enhance local and global sustainability and wellbeing. This would involve abandoning existing economic paradigms, 'business as usual' values evaluating tourism development against alternatives measures of success and working with, rather than against, those who are seen as competitors. Third, the 'common-sense' argument for growth needs challenging. If neoliberalism were actively challenged as unsustainable, these documents might be able to fulfil their promise of ensuring development that enhances wellbeing and protects the environment. Fourth, as tourism educators, we need to make our students aware of the power of language and the linguistic devices, deployed to support and perpetuate policy and broader ideological objectives.

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